

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5402
INFO AMEMBASSH LONDON
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 3059

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, ESTC, RH, ENRG

SUBJ: RHODESIAN SANCTIONS: INDIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION ON OIL
SANCTIONS

REF: (A) STATE 214211, (B) USUN 2982

SUMMARY. WHILE A SHORT, TACTICAL DELAY OF SANCTIONS
COMMITTEE/SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF INDIAN
RESOLUTION TIGHTENING OIL SANCTIONS ON RHODESIA MAY BE BOTH
POSSIBLE AND ADVISABLE, PROLONGED DELAY WILL NOT BE
POSSIBLE. FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS, MOST OF THEM CONNECTED
WITH THE CREDIBILITY ESSENTIAL TO OUR BROADER PEACE
EFFORTS IN RHODESIA, WE RECOMMEND THAT WE BACK THE INDIAN
RESOLUTION BEFORE WE ARE FORCED ON THE DEFENSIVE.
WE BELIEVE WE CAN COAX BRITISH ON BOARD. END SUMMARY.

1. IN NORMAL COURSE OF EVENTS, INDIAN RESOLUTION TIGHTENING
OIL SANCTIONS ON RHODESIA SEEMS CERTAIN TO COME UP AT
NEXT MEETING OF SANCTIONS COMMITTEE WHICH COULD BE AS
EARLY AS THURSDAY, SEPT. 22. MISSION CAN, WITH UK,
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APPROACH INDIANS (JAIPAL) TO SUGGEST DELAY IN CONSIDERATION
OF RESOLUTION BY SANCTIONS COMMITTEE ALONG LINES PARA 2
REF A. IF SUCCESSFUL, THIS TACTIC COULD KEEP OIL
SANCTIONS ISSUE RELATIVELY QUIET FOR SEVERAL CRITICAL WEEKS
UNTIL AFTER SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF AT LEAST
INITIAL UK RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING SECRETARY GENERAL'S
REPRESENTATIVE TO RHODESIA. WE BELIEVE JAIPAL WOULD

RECEIVE OUR APPROACH SYMPATHETICALLY, AND WE DO NOT KNOW OF ANY IMMEDIATE PRESSURES ON HIM THAT WOULD PRECLUDE HIS ACCESSION TO OUR POSTPONEMENT REQUEST.

2. DISCUSSION OF OIL SANCTIONS CANNOT BE PUT OFF INDEFINITELY, HOWEVER. PROLONGED DELAY OF CONSIDERATION BY SANCTIONS COMMITTEE WILL ONLY RESULT IN RESOLUTION BEING TAKEN DIRECTLY TO SECURITY COUNCIL. SIMILARLY, IF RESOLUTION IS CONSIDERED BY SANCTIONS COMMITTEE BUT US AND UK APPEAR TO BE STONEWALLING INDEFINITELY, RESOLUTION WILL BE LEAP-FROGGED TO SECURITY COUNCIL. IN SHORT, THE QUESTION WE FACE IS NOT WHETHER WE CAN AVOID A RHODESIA OIL SANCTIONS DEBATE BUT RATHER (A) WHETHER WE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO SEUEEZE OUT WHATEVER DELAY WE CAN, AND (B) WHAT WE DO WHEN RESOLUTION IS INEVITABLY CONSIDERED.

3. REGARDING THE FIRST QUESTION, THERE IS LITTLE TO LOSE AND SOMETHING TO GAIN BY A JOINT US/UK APPROACH TO INDIANS (JAIPAL) SEEKING AT LEAST SEVERAL WEEKS' DELAY IN SANCTIONS COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION, I.E., UNTIL AFTER SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF AT LEAST INITIAL UK RESOLUTION. WE SEE A CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCE, AND BELIEVE OTHERS WILL TOO, BETWEEN A SHORT TACTICAL DELAY DESIGNED TO AVOID COMPLICATING OUR IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATING EFFORT AND LONGER TERM STONEWALLING

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REFLECTING A SUBSTANTIVE UNWILLINGNESS TO ACT ON THE ISSUE OF TIGHTENING OIL SANCTIONS.

4. REGARDING THE QUESTION OF STRATEGY ON THE INDIAN RESOLUTION ITSELF, WE OFFER THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS: (A) PERCEIVED AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO INDIAN RESOLUTION COULD QUICKLY ENDANGER AFRICAN SUPPORT OF RHODESIA PEACE PROPOSALS. THE NUMBER OF AFRICANS WHO SEE US AS A POSITIVE FORCE FOR CHANGE ON THEIR CONTINENT IS GROWING, BUT THE ROOTS OF THEIR CONFIDENCE IN US ARE NOT DEEP. A WELL ORCHESTRATED PROPAGANDA ATTACK SUGGESTING US COMPLICITY WITH OIL SANCTIONS-BUSTING COULD DO US A LOT OF HARM. FROM SOVIET POINT OF VIEW, THERE WILL BE SEVERAL KEY VOTES THIS FALL ON AFRICAN ISSUES WHICH COULD SERVE AS TEST CASES OF THE STRENGTH OF THE "NEW" WESTERN POLICY TOWARD AFRICA. IF THEY CAN MANEUVER US OUT ON OIL SANCTIONS LIMB, CERTAINLY THEY WOULD DELIGHT IN SAWING IT OFF TO DISCREDIT US. (B) AS A COROLLARY OF (A), WE DO NOT DISMISS THE POSSIBILITY THAT KAUNDA, AND PERHAPS OTHERS, OF FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS WILL INSIST ON TIGHTENED OIL SANCTIONS AS A CONDITION OF THEIR CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR BROADER

PEACE PROPOSALS, ESPECIALLY IF SMITH DECIDES TO DIG IN HIS HEELS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 3059

(C) INDIAN RESOLUTION IS RELATIVELY MODERATE. WE BELIEVE INDIANS INTRODUCED IT IN AN EFFORT TO HELP AVOID A KNOCK-DOWN, DRAG-OUT ON A SUBSTITUTE THAT THE US CLEARLY COULD NOT SUPPORT. INDIAN RESOLUTION COULD BE MADE MUCH STRONGER BY AFRICANS AND OTHERS, ESPECIALLY IF WE ARE SEEN TO BE DEFENSIVE OR TO BE ABUSING THE GOOD FAITH EFFORTS OF HELPFUL MEMBERS OF THE SANCTIONS COMMITTEE. IT COULD BE THAT THE BEST DEFENSE IS A GOOD OFFENSE, I.E., THAT ACTIVE US SUPPORT FOR A MEASURE LIKE THE INDIAN RESOLUTION COULD BE THE BEST WAY TO FORESTALL A DAMAGING VETO ON A STRONGER SUBSTITUTE.

(D) OUR BRITISH COLLEAGUES COULD BALK AT THE INDIAN RESOLUTION, BUT THERE IS A GROWING BODY OF EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT BRITISH OPPOSITION TO TIGHTENING OIL SANCTIONS ON RHODESIA MAY BE SOFTENING:

(1) DRAFT BRITISH SC RESOLUTION ON TIGHTENING OIL SANCTIONS HANDED TO MISSION SEPTEMBER 12 (REF B) CAN BE INTERPRETED AS BEING EVEN TOUGHER THAN INDIAN RESOLUTION, IN THAT IT FOCUSSES ANY ONUS FOR SANCTIONS BUSTING SQUARELY ON SAG;

(2) RECENT BRITISH EFFORTS TO INFLUENCE THE TRANS-
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SHIPMENT ACTIVITIES OF THEIR SUBSIDIARIES OPERATING IN SOUTH AFRICA, WHILE APPARENTLY LIMITED, STILL GO BEYOND ANY PARALLEL US EFFORT;
(3) BERNARD RIVERS, HASLEMERE GROUP RESEARCHER RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF THE CURRENT EVIDENCE ON ALLEGED OIL SANCTIONS BUSTING, TOLD MISOFF SEPTEMBER 13 THAT HIS REPORT "OIL SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA" PREPARED FOR THE WORKING GROUP ON SANCTIONS OF THE COMMONWEALTH COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS MET WITH A SURPRISINGLY POSITIVE UK ATTITUDE IN THE WORKING GROUP. THE REPORT RECOMMENDS NOT ONLY HALTING THE FLOW OF REFINED PRODUCTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO RHODESIA BUT ALSO CUTTING SUPPLIES OF OIL TO SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF UNLESS EFFECTIVE GUARANTEES ARE OBTAINED THAT THE OIL WILL NOT BE SUBSEQUENTLY TRANSFERRED TO RHODESIA.

IN ANY CASE, BRITISH MUST SEE THE POLITICAL DEBITS IN WESTERN OPPOSITION TO STIFFER OIL SANCTIONS ON RHODESIA MUCH THE SAME WAY WE DO. IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO ORGANIZE A JOINT APPROACH WITH THEM IN SUPPORT OF THE INDIAN RESOLUTION. IT WON'T BE EASY BUT WE RECOMMEND THAT WE TRY.

(E) LOOKING TOWARD THE FUTURE, THERE ARE TWO POSSIBLE BROAD OUTCOMES FOR OUR PEACE INITIATIVE IN RHODESIA EITHER OF WHICH MUST INEVITABLY AFFECT OUR OIL SANCTIONS POLICY. IF THE UK AND US ARE ABLE TO BRING ABOUT A GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT, THEN ALL SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA WILL BE CANCELLED. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, OUR INITIATIVE FAILS AND THE SITUATION SLIDES DEEPER INTO VIOLENCE, WE WILL NO LONGER HAVE A RELATIVELY POLITE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH TO DEBATE OIL SANCTIONS. POSITIONS WILL POLARIZE. WE WILL BE CALLED ON TO PUT
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UP OR SHUT UP. IN OUR VIEW, UNDER SUCH A SITUATION AMERICAN REFUSAL TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST OFFENDING AMERICAN SUBSIDIARIES WOULD BECOME AN UNTENABLE POLICY OPTION. RATHER THAN BEING FORCED TO COOPERATE IN EXTREMIS LATER, IT SEEMS TO BE VERY MUCH IN OUR INTEREST TO ACT POSITIVELY NOW.
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